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more ancient are yet discovered than those whose crumbled ruins underlie the ziggurat of Ur-Gur.

Limits of space forbid further details. The value of the work recorded in Dr. Peters' book is sufficiently evident. All the world owes a debt to Philadelphia, and to the University of Pennsylvania. The frontispieces of the volumes are portraits of Mr. E. W. Clark and Provost Pepper, of the University, the earliest and largest contributors to the fund, and intelligent supporters of the work. They deserve all honor. May they have many imitators!

FRANCIS BROWN.

Cyprian; His Life, His Times, His Work. BY EDWARD WHITE BENSON, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1897. Pp. xxxviii, 636.)

No ecclesiastical writer of the first three Christian centuries made so profound an impression on the minds of men as Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, usually known as Saint Cyprian. His eminently practical genius, the gravity of the great problems in which he was a factor, and the peculiar importance of those two decades of the third century in which he became a Christian and directed the Church of Africa, combine to make his personality a leading one. The pages of Chevalier, Harnack and Bardenhewer show how great has been the literary interest in this remarkable man down to our day, and the long list of editors and students of his works more than justifies the esteem of antiquity such as Prudentius voiced it (*Peristephanon*, No. 13).

Dum genus esse hominum Christus sinet, et vigere mundum,
Dum liber ullus erit, dum scrinia sacra litterarum,
Te leget omnis amans Christum, tua, Cypriane, discet.

In this Life of Saint Cyprian, Archbishop Benson has given to the world the fruit of some thirty years' labor, the scientific perfection of the sketch contributed by him many years ago to the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. The work is divided into twelve chapters, and is prefaced by a picturesque description of the contemporary Carthage and Northern Africa, social and religious. Then follows an account of the earlier years of Cyprian, as lay convert, deacon, priest, and finally as bishop of the great Christian community of Carthage.

In the second and third chapters is told the story of the Decian persecution, and the terrible domestic conflict that followed its cessation. Novatianism involved the principle and developed the means of church unity, hence in the fourth and fifth chapters the treatise of Cyprian "On the Unity of the Catholic Church," and the consequences of his legislation for the *lapsi*, or fallen, are discussed. The pastoral activity of Cyprian is described at great length, and furnishes the most readable and serviceable pages of a book in which there is much that will be of service to future students. The memorable question of the rebaptism of heretics, and the consequent conflict of Cyprian with the See of Rome, takes up

over a hundred pages of the work, which ends with the death of Cyprian in the persecution of Valerian. Appendices follow (pp. 537-620) on the meaning of *principalis ecclesia* in Cyprian (*Ep.* 59, 14); on the Libelli (certificates of apostasy) and two extant specimens of them; on the intrigues about the Manutius and the Benedictine text of Cyprian; on points in the chronology of Valerian's reign; on the lists of bishops attending the African Councils and the cities they came from; on St. Cyprian's day in the Kalendars. Three maps illustrate the topography of the story—maps of the cemeteries on the Appian Way near Rome, of the environs of Carthage, and of Proconsular and Numidian Africa, as illustrating the writings of Cyprian. The latter is a very welcome help to the student, in conjunction with the careful chronology of Cyprian's times and writings that precedes the introduction (pp. xxi-xxiii). The text is enlivened with several woodcuts of the graves of Popes Fabian, Cornelius and Lucius, contemporaries of Cyprian, of the coins of Cornelia Salonina, the Christian (?) empress of Valerian, and of the ninth-century frescoes of Cyprian and Cornelius in the cemetery of Callixtus.

It is a work replete with original research, and will be long an indispensable volume to the student of Cyprian. The numerous *opuscula* of that writer have been woven with skill into the narrative, and the book abounds in excursus, appendices, lengthy footnotes, in which a varied and elegant learning is manifested. It belongs among such valuable contributions to patrological literature as the works of Bishop Lightfoot, and is another evidence of the profound charm that Christian antiquity exercises over the best minds.

The defects of the volume are as striking as its good qualities, and quite balance them. The style is ponderous and affected, overloaded with minutiae of thought and fact, and almost utterly wanting in the lucidity and directness that mark the writings of Lightfoot. It is the style of a modern *grammaticus*, with all its hypercriticism and formalism of method, whereby, too often, the personality of the writer eclipses that of his subject.

Another defect, that runs throughout the book from preface to index, is the strong bias against the Roman Church. The claims of the latter are a just object of criticism at the hands of a writer on St. Cyprian, whose life-history is closely bound up with the history of several contemporary bishops of Rome. But it detracts greatly from the impartiality of the critic, when it seems that he has a brief in the case, and is intent from the opening of it on making "points," long before the crucial discussion of the principal questions sets in. As a literary historian Archbishop Benson is, therefore, inferior to Bishop Lightfoot or Bishop Stubbs. His strictures on the Roman authorities for retaining the interpolated text of *De Unitate Ecclesiae Catholicae* (c. 4, "et primatus Petro datur," etc.) are far too severe. They considered themselves in possession of an ancient and favorable text, that had for it what seemed to them reliable manuscript evidence, and was fully one thousand years in use, when it was proposed to expunge it from all future editions of Cyprian. It

seems wrong to attribute to them a deliberate intention of maintaining a recognized forgery (p. 230), when it is not clear that the interpolations are anything more than marginal notes or glosses that have become incorporated with a text, with which they otherwise have a very close resemblance. Harnack has shown (*Dogmengeschichte*, I.² 348) that Cyprian has elsewhere manifested similar views (*e. g.*, *Epp.* 48, 3; 59, 14; 67, 5; 68; 70, 3) and apropos of this matter says: "Cyprian hat sich unzweifelhaft bei seinem Conflict mit Stephanus in Widerspruch zu seinen früheren Ansichten über die Bedeutung des römischen Stuhls für die Kirche gesetzt, Ansichten, die er freilich in einer kritischen Zeit vorgetragen hatte, in welcher er mit dem römischen Bischof Schulter an Schulter gestanden hat" (p. 349, n. 3).

The Roman Church has never needed to base her jurisdictional claims on a single writer, even of Cyprian's standing. Before him Polycrates of Ephesus (*Eus. H. E.*, V. 24), Tertullian (*Hieron. De vir. ill.*, c. 53), and Hippolytus (*Philosophoumena*, IX. 7, 11, 12) had come into conflict with the bishops of Rome, and were compelled to yield. Origen (*Eus. H. E.*, VI. 36, *Hieron. Ep.* 84, 10) was obliged to write a penitential epistle to Pope Fabian, and there can be little doubt that Cyprian himself did some such act, else he would scarcely be in communion with Pope Xystus when the latter died, would not have been taken into the affections of the Roman community and, by a rare and curious exception, made a sharer in the honors paid to Pope Cornelius.

Archbishop Benson objects strongly to the Roman interpretation of the *Ecclesia principalis* of Cyprian (*Ep.* 59, 14). But in what does it differ from *Ep.* 48, 3, where the Roman Church is called "matrix et radix ecclesiae catholicae"? Here, too, the superior impartiality of Harnack is manifest. He says (o. c., p. 405) speaking of the *potior principalitas* of St. Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.*, III. 3, 7) "Unzweifelhaft ist, das vielmehr die römische Gemeinde genannt werden *musste* weil ihr Votum in der Christenheit bereits als das entscheidendste galt."

The third century of the Christian era was one of remarkable activity in the development of church institutions. The divine sap flowed freely through the members of the youthful society. But nowhere was that natural development more visible than in the Roman Church, "in qua semper," says St. Augustine (*Ep.* 43, vl. 162), himself a successor of St. Cyprian, "apostolatus vigit principatus." The facts cited above, the successful checking of the great primate of Africa, the self-subjection of Dionysius of Alexandria (Athanasius, *De Sententia Dionysii*, c. 13), the decision of Aurelian in the matter of Paul of Samosata (*Eus. H. E.*, VII. 30) shows that the power of the Roman See in ecclesiastical matters was already a recognized fact. The epitaph of Abercius (Lightfoot, *St. Ignatius*, p. 496) and the *Adversus Aleatores* (Hartel, *Opp. Cypriani*, p. III., p. 93) throw new light on the course of this development in the second century. The documents of the Donatist appeal to Constantine (Migne, *P. L.*, VIII. 478-492) show that the Roman See was long since recognized as the supreme juridical tribunal of Christians in spiritual matters,

and that Pope Julius did not exaggerate his rights as supreme judge in the matter of St. Athanasius a few years later (Socrates, II. 15, 17; Sozomen, III. 8). The strong resistance of St. Cyprian is an isolated fact, and by no means the criterion of the episcopal temper of the third century, which, in the face of heresy and schism, was rather inclined to strengthen the *potior principalitas* of the Roman See. "Jener Satz: *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum*," says Harnack, "und der andere dass 'Katholisch' im Grunde 'Römisch-Katholisch' sei, ersonnen zu Ehren des Jeweiligen Inhabers des römischen Stuhls, sind grobe Fictionen (!); aber sie enthalten, auf die Gemeinde der Welthauptstadt bezogen, eine Wahrheit deren Verkennung dem Verzichte gleichkommt, den Prozess der Katholisirung und Unificirung der Kirchen verständlich zu machen" (o. c., p. 412). Still more radical are the views of another writer of the same school (Sohm, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, I. § 31, pp. 377-440).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517-18, being the Extant Returns to Chancery for Berks, Bucks, Cheshire, Essex, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northants, Oxon, and Warwickshire by the Commissioners of Inclosures in 1517, and for Bedfordshire in 1518, together with Dugdale's MS. Notes of the Warwickshire Inquisitions in 1517, 1518, and 1549. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by I. S. LEADAM, M.A. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co. 1897. Two vols., pp. 715.)

In this work Mr. Leadam continues the editing and analysis of the presentments made before the Commission of Inclosures of 1517, which he began in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1892-4 under the title "The Inquisition of 1517." The documents printed in these volumes are of far greater value than those that have previously appeared; for while the Lansdowne MS. printed in the *Transactions* is an incomplete abstract of certain of the returns that were made by the commissioners to Chancery, the present volumes contain transcripts of the original returns themselves. The information contained in the returns is also more varied than that in the Lansdowne MS. It has been analysed and tabulated in painstaking fashion; and the results brought together in the introductions to the several parts of the work.

It is Mr. Leadam's opinion that it was just these counties, the returns of which are now printed, "in which the inclosing movement was proceeding most rapidly and in which, therefore, Wolsey desired to oppose the first check." Hence it is of special interest to know how far these counties had been enclosed. In each of the five counties for which the data are most nearly complete, the area enclosed between 1485 and 1517 was less than two per cent. of the total area returned. The proportion seems small; but that the enclosures were accompanied by important social changes is evident from the number of the evicted. Thus